

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
GROWTH
OF
KNAVERY,
UNDER
The Pretended FEARS
OF
ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT,
AND
POPERY.

WITH
A PARALLEL betwixt the Re-
formers of 1677, and those of 1641, in their
Methods, and Designs.

In a Letter to a Friend.

L O N D O N,

Printed by H. H. for Henry Brome, at the Gun
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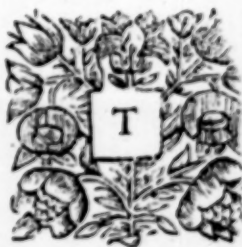
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AN
ACCOUNT
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 UNDER
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 OF
 ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT,
 AND
POPERY,

SIR,



O give you my Opinion
 freely of the two Libels
 that you sent me, me-
 thinks the Design of
 them lies too open to
 do much Mischief; for
 I never saw so bare-fac'd
 an Araigment of the Government, and
 all the Parts of it: *King, Lords, Commons,*
Judges, Ministers of State; they are all of

A 2

them

Thomson Sharp, London. Cat. 245 # 1032. Rec'd July 17, 1939. A.O. R 1476. 19c. (245)

them made *Conspirators*; against the Sovereign Multitude, forsooth; and when the Libeller has done with the *Body* of the *Commons*, he gives you a Defamatory List of betwixt two and three hundred of their *Members*, provoking and abusing all Sober Interests; Insomuch, that he has left himself nothing to trust to, but the contemplation of a *General Tumult*; which is the very Point he drives at in his *Appeal* to the *Rabble*.

The Man, I confess, is a great Master of Words; but then his Talent is that which the Lord *St. Albans* calls *Matter of Wonder without Worthiness*; being rather the Suppleness and Address of a Tumbler, than the Force and Vigor of a Man of Business. And you cannot but observe too, that his Excursions, many of them, are unmannerly and Vulgar, and fitter for the Stage of a *Merry-Andrew*, or a *Jack-Pudding*, than for a Paper of *State*.

You would have me guess at the Author; and you might as well bid me tell you the right Father of a Child by a common Strumpet: But I think I may call him *Legion*, for they are *MAN Y*; and
there's

there's a *Club* to his *Pen*, as well as to his *Pocket*. This I dare assure you, that the Author of *A Letter from a Parliament-man to his Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings of the House of Commons, &c.* in 75. is very particularly acquainted with the Author of *An Account of the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government, &c.* and the *Seasonable Argument, &c.* that follow'd it, in 77.

The Pretence of the former Pamphlet is exhibited in the Title of it: *viz. An Account of the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government in England: And more particularly from November 1675, to July 1677.* Upon these *Nineteen Months* the *Composer* has bestow'd precisely *Nineteen Sheets of Paper*, and laid himself out most wonderfully in his *Politicks and Conceits*, for the better *Grace and Relish* of the *Discourse*: But the *Malignity* of it is so rank, that there's scarce a *Page* where the *Poyson* has not eaten quite thorough the *Vernish*, and discover'd the *Spring and Malice* of the *Design*. View it narrowly, and you shall find the *Pique* to be as well *Personal* as *Seditious*, and the *Work* only

of some Mercenary Pen to serve his principall's Animosity, as well as his Ambition. For a Man may see with half an Eye, how he *aggravates*, or *extenuates*; *disparages*, or *commends*, *reflects* upon, or *passes* over, as well *Actions*, as *Men*, according to the various Aspects of *Affections* or *Parties*; and without any regard to the Pulse or Truth of Publick Proceedings. By his Vein of improving the Invective Humour, it looks in some places as if he were *Transposing* the *First Painter*; only he has chang'd his Battery, which is a Property peculiar to his Party, constantly to hate those that are uppermost.

I was once a thinking to write a Just Reply upon the whole Relation, and to lay open the falshood of many Passages in it in matter of Fact; the Partiality of it in others; how perverted, and misapplied it is throughout; and to shew what Gapps, and Maimes the Compiler of it has left in the Story, purposely to divert the Reader from minding the Coherence of Actions, and the reasonable Congruity of Counsels, and Affairs: What uncharitable and illogical Inferences he has drawn

drawn from matters as remote as *Tor-terden* Steeple from being the cause of *Goodwin* Sands. This was the Method I had propounded to my self; but upon second Thoughts I quitted it, for these Reasons. First, It would have been too tedious; for I must in Honesty have printed the Libel as well as the Reply, which in Proportion would have amounted to near forty Sheets of Paper. Secondly, It would have been superfluous; for part of my Business being the Vindication of Truth from Calumny: I find the thing already done to my Hand, in the common Sentence is that pass'd upon it for a lew'd and shameless Imposture. And Thirdly, The Author himself, you see, has upon better consideration reduc'd his Pamphlet of 19 Sheets, into another of *Three*, as a more compendious Exposition of his Meaning: I speak of that Libel which you sent me, under the Name of *A Seasonable Argument to perswade all the Grand Juries in England to petition for a New Parliament; or a List of the Principal Labourers in the great Design of Popery, and Arbitrary Power, &c.* So that my Task

is only to make good in my Discourse the Parallel that I promis'd you in my Title, and then to pass some Remarks upon the Scope, and Venome of the Pamphlets themselves.

Now to the end that you may not take the Libels here in question for *Originals*, let me assure you that these Notable Pieces are neither better, nor worse, than the *Old Declarations* of 40, and 41 only *Turn'd*, and *New trimm'd*; The *Contrivance*, the *Positions*, and the *Drift* the very same; and upon the whole Matter, there is so near a resemblance betwixt them, that one Egg is not liker another. If you would have a full History of the Faction, you may read it at large in *Bancroft's Dangerous Positions*, or *Heylin's AERIVS REDIVIVVS*. But my Purpose is principally to compare the Project of 77. with that of 40 and 41. and by tracing the Foot-steps of that Rebellion, from the Undeniable Fact of things pass'd, to gather some probable conjecture at things to come.

To

To begin my *Parallel* with the Alarm of *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Government* in 1677, take notice that it was likewise the Pretext and the very Foundation of the Rebellion in 41. *A Malignant and Pernicious Design* (says the *Remonstrance* of December 15. 1641.) of subverting the fundamental Laws, and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion, and Justice of this Kingdom is firmly establish'd. Husband's Collections, p. 4. and in the same Page he tells us of *Such Counsellors and Courtiers*, as for *Private Ends* have engag'd themselves to further the Interest of Some Foreign Princes or States, to the Prejudice of His Majesty and the State at home. Which Counsellors, and Courtiers of those days, are now translated into *French Pensioners* and *Conspirators* in 1677. But if you would see the Reformers in their Colours, read the *Declaration*, and *Protestation* of the Lords and Commons in Parliament (as they stile it) to the Kingdom, and to the Whole World: where, beside the Horrid Invocation of Almighty God to Countenance the Juggle, the whole stress of the Quarrel is laid upon

the Kings being *Popishly Inclined*; and the War founded upon that Execrable Cheat. *The Kings Counsels, and Resolutions* (Say they) are so engag'd to the *Popish Party*, for the *Suppression and Extirpation* of the true Religion, that all hopes of Peace and Protection are excluded; and that it is fully intended to give Satisfaction to the *Papists*, by *Alteration of Religion &c.* And a little further they say that the King endeavour'd to keep off all Jealousies and Suspicions, by many fearful Oaths and Imprecations of maintaining the Protestant Religion. But what were all their Stories of *Popish Plots, Intercepted Letters, Dark Conspiracies*, but only Artifices to gull the Credulous and Silly Vulgar? For the King was so far from being *Popishly affected*, that never any Prince purg'd himself of an Imputation, by Two more Credible and Dreadful Solemnities: The First, Publickly upon the Sacrament in *Christ-Church Oxon. 1643*; and afterward, at his Death upon the Scaffold. Now see the Harmony betwixt *Those Remonstrants*, and *Our Libeller* in his *Growth of Popery*. There has now for *Diverse Years*, says he, a De-

sign been carry'd on to change the Lawful Government of England into an Absolute Tyranny, and to convert the establisht Protestant Religion into down-right Popery. P. 3. He begins in the *Method of the Remonstrants* with a *General Charge upon Ill Ministers*, and he shall *Advance* with them too, next step, to an *Attaque* upon the *King Himself*. And not a Pin matter what is said on either side to the Contrary.

It is true, (says the *Growth of Popery* p. 155) *that by his Majesty and the Churches Care, under God's special Providence, the Conspiracy has receiv'd frequent Disappointments, &c.* And do not the *Remonstrants* on the other side say as much for the Late King? That *His Majesty indeed had past more Bills to the Advantage of the Subject, than had been in many Ages*, pag. 16. But how comes our *Libeller* to be so kind to the Church all on a sodain? From whose Pen there never fell any thing yet but poyson upon that Subject. Can any thing be kinder than the *Remonstrants* were to this Late King (pag. 2.) where they promised to *Support His Royal Estate*

with Honour, and Plenty at Home; with Power, and Reputation Abroad: and by their Loyal Affections, Obedience, and Service, to lay a sure and lasting Foundation of the Greatness and Prosperity of His Majesty and his Royal Posterity after him. But what do you think rather of the pretended Loyalty of these People afterwards, even in the state of an Actual Rebellion? p. 663. We the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, do in the presence of Almighty God, for the Satisfaction of our Consciences, and the Discharge of that great Trust which lyes upon us, make this Protestation and Declaration to this Kingdom and Nation, and to the Whole World, that no private Passion, or Respect, no evil Intention to his Majesty's Person, no Design to the prejudice of his Just Honour, and Authority, engag'd us to raise Forces, and take up Arms against the Authors of this War, wherewith the Kingdom is now enflam'd. And does not our Libeller follow the Remonstrants in their Hypocrisy too? This Book, (says he, p. 156.) though of an extraordinary Nature, as the Case requir'd, and however it may be calumniated by interessed

Persons, was written with no other Intent, than of meer Fidelity, and Service to his Majesty; and God forbid that it should have any other Effect than that the mouth of all Iniquity, and Flatterers may be stopp'd, and that his Majesty having discerned the Disease, may with his healing Touch apply the Remedy: For so far is the Relator himself from any sinister Surmize against his Majesty, or from suggesting it to others, &c. The Pamphlet, I confess, is, as he calls it, A Book of an Extraordinary Nature; but why does he say, As the Case requir'd? Where's the Importance of it? unless he means, that it was the very Nick of Time for him to embroyl the Nation: And for the Interested Persons, who (he says) may Calumniate it; they are only the King and His Ministers, who are all of them the subject of his Scoptical and Malevolent Satyre. Of his Intent, we shall speak hereafter.

This is not the first time that we have heard of *Words smother than Oyl, which yet are very Swords*. It is the very Stile that brought the Late King to the Block; and the Saviour of the World was be-

tray'd by a *Hail Master*, and a *Kiss*. It is the very Crown of the *Parallel* betwixt 77, and 41. Now to proceed: What was the *Old Remonstrance*, but a Spiteful and Invidious Misrepresentation of the State of the Kingdom, under the Notion of Declaring Common Grievances? (*For His Majesty's Healing Touch* too no doubt) and is not That also the very Aim, and Profession of these two Libels? What is the Publication of This same Scandalous List, but the Old Trick over again, of *Posting* those Members for *Strassfordians*, that would not consent to the Death of the Earl of *Strassford*? And is not their Tampering of the *Grand Juries* to Petition for a *New Parliament*, the Old Practice reviv'd of drawing and soliciting Petitions against Grievances of their own framing; and menaging Affairs of State by *Tumults*? Would not our *Remonstratour* of 77, rather than his Life, be at the Old Sport again, with a Kennel of Brutes at his Heels, in full Cry, with *No Bishops, No Popish Lords, No Evil Counsellours, No Rotten Members, No Porters Lodge*; and at last, *No King* too, which was the very Fact

in Consequence upon this Method,

So soon as the *Remonstrants* (those Sons of *Cham*) had laid open their Father's nakedness, with a Malicious Aggravation of all Errours and Misfortunes, (beside Falshoods innumerable) to Irritate the Multitude against their Superiours; their next Art was to draw that Party to themselves, which they had now detached from the Government; with an *Ob! that we were made Judges in Israel!* Boasting what wonderful things they had then upon the Anvil for the Publick Good; and not forgetting to arrogate all those Acts to themselves, which his Majesty had pass'd of his proper Grace and Bounty. *Other things* (say they, p. 15.) *of main Importance for the Good of this Kingdom, are in Proposition; as the Establishing and Ordering the King's Revenues, that so the Abuse of Officers, and Superfluity of Expences may be cut off, and the necessary Disbursements for his Majesty's Honour, the Defence and Government of the Kingdom, may be more certainly provided for: the Regulating of Courts of Justice, and Abridging both the Delays and Charges of Law-Suits, &c.* See now if our Reformer of 77, does,

does not fish with the very same Bait. *The House of Commons* (says he, p.63.) took up again such Publick Bills as they had on foot in their former sitting, and others that might either remedy present, or prevent future Mischief: As the Bill for Habeas Corpus; That against sending Men prisoners beyond Seas; That against Raising of Money without the Consent of Parliament; That against Papists sitting in either House, &c. The Libels in fine of 77, are so exact a Counterpart of the others of 41, that two Tallies do not strike truer: And undoubtedly such a Correspondence in Method, cannot be without some Conformity also of Design.

There needs no other Argument to prove the *Late Rebellion* to have been originally a *Conspiracy* against the Government, than the Proportion that appears betwixt the Means, and the End; and the orderly Connexion of Proper Causes and Regular Effects. For it was a Perfect Train of Artifice, Hypocrisie and Imposture, from one end of it to the other. The Confederacy was form'd in a Cabal of *Scotch* and *English* Presbyterians; as appears

pears not only from their Correspondent Practices in both Nations; but from his late Majesties Charge against the *Five Members*; and likewise from the Care that was taken upon his Majesties *Restauration to date the English Act of Indemnity from the beginning of the Scotch Tumults* (Jan. 1. 1637.) which was three Years before the Meeting of the Long Parliament in November 1640. The two Ministers that stood in the Gap betwixt the Conspiracy, and the Government, (and who were only cut off, as appear'd by the Sequel, to clear the passage to the King himself) were the Earl of *Strafford*, and *Archbishop Laud*: So that their *First Attaque* was upon the *Earl*, and their *next* upon the *Archbishop*, under the *Notion of Evil Counsellors*; and upon the *Common Charge of Popery, and Arbitrary Proceeding*, their Impeachments were carry'd on by *Tumults*, and these Brave Men were rather baited to Death by Beasts, than Sentenc'd with any Colour of Law, or Justice: And as they liv'd, so they dy'd, the Resolute Assertors of the *English Monarchy and Religion*: The Earl of *Strafford* in May 41;

But the *Archbishop* was kept languishing in the *Tower*, till *Jan. 44*. And their Crime was not in Truth, their being Men of *Arbitrary Principles Themselves*, but for being the *Opposers* of those Principles in *Others*.

As the *Remonstrants* in 41, for want of *Papists*, in *Practice*, and *Profession*, directed their Spleen against the *Kings Ministers*, only as Persons *Popishly affected*, (which in time came to be most Injuriously apply'd to his Majesty, and his whole Party) Just so does our *Libeller* in 1677. *Were these Conspirators* (says he) *but avow'd Papists*, they were the more *Honest*, the less *Dangerous*, and their Religion were *Answerable* for the *Errours* they might commit in Order to promote it: But these are Men (says he, in the next pag.) *Obliged by all the most Sacred Ties of Malice and Ambition*, to advance the *ruine of the King and Kingdom*; and qualify'd much better than *Others*, under the *Name of Good Protestants*, to effect it. As who should say; *Popery is to be brought in by some that pass for Good Protestants*. (As *Rebellion* and *Tyranny* were brought in by the *Remonstrants*, under the *Pro-*
fession

profession of *Loyalty* and *Duty* to their Country.) A very Compendious way of making every Man, that will not be a *Traytor*, a *Papist*. For who can say what any Man is, or what he is not, in his Heart?

From his Majesty's Yielding in the Business of the Earl of *Strafford*, the Faction took their Measures how to deal with him in *Other Cases*; and never left, till by gradual Encroachments, and Approaches, they First stript him of his *Friends*; Secondly, of his *Royal Authority*; Thirdly, of his *Revenue*; and Lastly, of his *Life*. Whereas, had but this Pious and Unfortunate King follow'd the Advice of his Royal Father to Prince *Henry*, he might upon cheaper Terms have preserv'd himself, and his Three Kingdoms. *Take heed*, (says King *James*) *to such Puritans; very Pests in the Church, and Common-weal, whom no Deserts can Oblige; neither Oaths, or Promises Bind. Breathing nothing but Sedition, and Calumnies, and making their own Imaginations (without any warrant of the Word) the square of their Conscience. I protest before the Great God, (and since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to*

ly in) that ye shall never find with any High-lands or Border-Thieves, greater Ingratitude, and more Lyes, and vile Perjuries than with these Phanatick Spirits. K. James his Works, p.305, and 160.

Upon the Ripping up of *Publick Grievances*, it was but matter of Course to follow their Complaints with Petitions for *Redress*; and the Good King, on the other hand, *to heap Coals of Fire upon their Heads*, deny'd them nothing: But *the Two First Bills* that his Majesty pass'd, were Fatal to him: That for the *Attainder* of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the other for the *Continuance* of the *Parliament*. They complain'd of the *Star-Chamber*; *High-Commission Court*; *Ship-Moneys*; *Forrest-Laws*; *Stannary-Courts*; *Tonnage*, and *Poundage*, &c. and had every Point for the Asking: Nay, and as an instance of his good Faith and Meaning, his Majesty took some of their Principalls even into his very Council. But so soon as he had parted with so much, as almost put it into their Power to Take the Rest, they began then to think of Setting up for themselves (see his Majesties Declaration of

August 12. 1642.) and nothing but a thorough Reformation they said would ever do the Work. Now see the Gradation. First, The People must be Alarm'd with the Noise of Tyranny, and Popery; and the Evil Counsellors must be Remov'd, that are Said, not Prov'd, to stand that way inclin'd. His Majesty must be humbly Petition'd by Both Houses to Employ such Counsellors, Ambassadors, and other Ministers, in managing his Business at Home, and Abroad, as the Parliament may have Cause to confide in, &c. Nay, It may often fall out, they say, that the Commons may have just Cause to take Exceptions at some Men for being Counsellors, and yet not charge those Men with Crimes; for there be grounds of Dissidence, which lie not in Proof; there are Others which though they may be prov'd, yet are not legally Criminal; to be a Known Favourer of Papists, or to have been very Forward in defending or Countenancing some great Offenders questioned in Parliament, &c. So that at first Dash all the King's Officers are but Tenants at the Will of the Faction. The next Step is, To fill the Places of those whom they cast out, with Ministers

nisters, and Officers of their Own Chusing; as well Privy Counsellors, as Judges. As in the 19 Propositions of Jan. 2. 42, wherein they demand, *The Translation of the Power of Chusing Great Officers, and Ministers of State, from the King to the Two Houses.* Secondly, *All matters of State in the Interval of Parliaments to be debated, and concluded by a Council so chosen, and in Number not above 25, nor under 15; and no Publick Act esteem'd of any validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent of the Major Part of that Council; attested under their Hands, and these also sworn to the Sence of Both Houses.* Thirdly, *The Lords, and Commons must be intrusted with the Militia.* Fourthly, *His Majesty may appoint, but the Two Houses, or the Council (in such manner as afore-said) must approve of all Governours of Forts and Castles.* Lastly, *No Peers hereafter made, must sit, or vote in Parliament, unless admitted thereunto by the Consent of Both Houses.*

By this time the Plot is ripe for a Rebellion; they Levy War, Impose Oaths, Seize the Revenues of the Church and Crown;
Kill

Kill, Plunder, and Emprison their Fellow-Subjects; Depose and Murther their Sovereign, under a Form of Publick Justice; by these Means advancing themselves into That Arbitrary Power which they pretended to Fear; Over-turning the Government, under the Colour of a Zeal to Support it: and instead of setting us Right in our Religious and Civil Liberties, they left us neither Church, nor Law, nor King, nor Parliament, nor Properties, nor Freedoms. Behold the Blessed Reformation; and Remember that the Outcries against Tyranny, Popery, and Evil Counsellors, were the Foundation of it. What was their Covenant, but a Blind to their Designs? A Popular Sacrament of Religious Disobedience; and only a Mark of Discrimination who were against the King, and who for him? Nay, in the very Contemplation of their Purpose, they knew before-hand, That there was no gaining of their Point, but by Rapine, Sacrilege, Perjury, Treason, and Blood.

After these Notorious Violations of Faith, Honour, Humanity, and Religion; to the Common destruction of Prince,

Government, and People, and All upon the same Bottom with our Late Libels; what can this Underminer of Parliaments, What can our Geneva-Faux find to say for himself? Is not Mercury as good Poyson in 77, as it was in 41? Do we not strike Fire the same way Now, that we did Then? And may not a Spark in the Gun-Room do as much Mischief This Year, as it did Thirty, or Forty Years ago? Are not the People as much Tinder now, as they were Formerly? and as apt to take Ill Impressions? What if the same Method should work the same Confusion over again? or in Truth, what is there else to be expected? For the same Cause, acting at Liberty, must eternally produce the same Effect. There's no Chance-medley, or Misadventure in the Case; but the Thing is manifestly done with Prepense Malice, and on set Purpose, to embroyl the State: As upon Examination of the Matter will undeniably appear.

- You cannot but take Notice, That the Author of *The Growth of Popery*, does upon the Main, principally labour these

Two things. First, To insinuate that the King is in some Cases *Accomptable to his People*, (of which hereafter.) And Secondly, To provoke the People, by suggesting that their *Souls*, and their *Liberties* are at stake, to make use of that *Power*. From the former Proposition he passes into a Florid and Elaborate Declamation against *Popery*; and when he has wrought up the Figure to a height, to make it Terrible and Odious, his next Business is to tell the People, that This Gobling is coming in among them, and to possess the Multitude with the Apprehension of a Form'd Conspiracy against our *Religion* and *Government*: And this too, under the Countenance of an *Historical Deduction of Affairs*; but with the Faith of a *Jesuitical Legend*; wherein all the Kings *Ministers* are in General Terms branded for *Conspirators*.

His Hand being now in, he is resolv'd to go thorough-stitch, and nothing escapes him that falls in his way: He makes the *House of Lords* (p. 72.) to be *Felon of it self*; and (p. 82.) *Non Compos*; Arraigning their Proceedings in several Cases with

Boldness and Contempt. But he makes a great deal bolder yet with the *House of Commons*; he divides them into *Three Parts*. It is too notorious to be conceal'd (says he, p. 73.) that near a Third part of the House, have Beneficial Offices under his Majesty in the Privy Council, the Army, the Navy, the Law, the Household, the Revenue both in England, and Ireland, or in Attendance upon his Majesties Person. Upon this Exception, he expounds himself, that 'Tis to be fear'd, their Gratitude to their Master, with their own Interest, may tempt them beyond their Obligation to the Publick. What can be more Audacious than this Charge upon King, Lords, and Commons, in the Face of a Sitting Parliament? He says that It is too Notorious to be conceal'd, &c. And where's the Crime, or the Shame, I beseech you, for an Officer of the Kings, to be a Member of the House of Commons? As if he that has an Office, and he that has none, had not Both of them the same Master; or that a Man might not as well be a Knave without an Office, as with it. This was the Complaint also of 41, against Officers, till the Com-

Complainants had gotten those Offices themselves, and then all was quiet. This is only a slyer way of declaring the King's Servants Enemies to the Kingdom, and Erecting an Opposition betwixt the Common, and Inseparable Interests of his Majesty, and his Subjects. Beside that, the same Reason would reach to the Excluding of the King's Servants from any other Trust in the Government, as well as from That of a Member in the House of Commons; and his Majesties Favour should at that rate Incapacitate any Man for Publick Business. If the Libeller had open'd his mouth a little wider, he would have told us in *Plain English*, that there are three, or four of *Oliver's* Old Servants out of Office, and that the King is strangely over-seen to bestow his Boons upon a Company of Fellows that never had any hand in the bringing of him to the Crown, by the Murther of his Father, as they did. But yet he is content upon some Terms, that they may be admitted, *provided that they do not croud into the House in numbers beyond Modesty*, (pag. 74.) which may seem to be some amends for the Rascalls he

made of them the very Page before. Suppose (says he) that the Question concerning this Prorogation, were by the Custom of Parliaments to be justify'd, (which hath not been done hitherto) yet who, that desires to maintain the Reputation of an Honest Man, would not have laid hold upon so plausible an Occasion, to break Company, when it was grown so scandalous? And then he assigns the matter of Scandal. For it is too notorious (says he) to be conceal'd, that near a Third Part of the House have Beneficial Offices under his Majesty, &c. Here's a great deal of Business done in one Period. First, He pronounces this Parliament void, and consequently all their Proceedings to be Nullities. Secondly; He will not allow any Man to be Honest, that right or wrong would not improve the Opportunity of Breaking This Parliament. Thirdly, He makes the House of Commons to be scandalous Company, and scandalous for having Beneficial Offices under his Majesty. The first time that ever I heard the King's Bounty was a Scandal to any Man. But to my Point.

And yet (says he, p. 77.) These Gentle-
men

men being full, and already in Employment, are more good Natur'd, and less dangerous to the Publick, than those that are Hungry, and out of Office, who may by probable Computation make another Third Part of this House of Commons. And a while after, *They are all of them*, he says, *to be bought, and sold.* And when he goes on; (p. 78.) There is a Third Part still remaining, but as contrary in themselves, as Light and Darknes. These are either the Worst, or the Best of Men; The first are most profligate Persons, &c. Concluding (p. 79.) That it is less difficult to conceive how Fire was first brought to Light in the World, than how any thing Good could ever be produc'd out of a House of Commons so Constituted. And (p. 149.) he calls them *this House, or BARN of Commons*; treating the Members accordingly. *They list themselves* (says he) *into some Court Faction, and it is as well known among them to what Lord each of them retain, as when formerly they wore Coats and Badges.*

And he has not done with them yet neither; for nothing will do his Jobb, but a Final Dissolution; *Considering* (says he,

p. 81.) *how doubtful a Foot this long Parliament now stood upon by this long Prorogation, there could not have been a more Legal, or however, no more Wise, and Honest a thing done, than for Both the Lords and Commons to have Separated Themselves, &c.* I could wish that he had not appeal'd from the *Legality* of the thing, to the *Wisdom*, and *Honesty* of it: But however Legal, or not Legal, the thing is to be done: For he knows very well that so long as this House of *Commons* continues in Being, Rebellion can never turn up Trump again. *But it was otherwise order'd*, he says, and so he betakes himself to an Experiment of Tampering all the *Grand Juries* in *England*, to *Petition for a New Parliament*, upon the Credit of his Story concerning the Corruptions of this. Wherein by the Foul Reflexions he has cast upon many Persons of Known, and Eminent Example, for Piety, Integrity, and Moderation, he has utterly disappointed the Malice of his Scandal upon the Rest. It was well enough said, methought, by a Worthy Member of the House of *Commons*; *Do not you see*, says he, *how they*
have

have Libell'd me in that damn'd List of the Parliament-men? One told him that he was mistaken, for his Name was not in't. *Why, that's the Business,* says he, *for 'tis only a Libel upon those that are left out.* Nay, rather than fail, he does as good as Advise a downright Insurrection, (in these Words, p. 155.) *It is now come to the fourth Act* (says he) *and the next Scene that opens, may be Rome, or Paris,* (by the Plot, it should be rather *Geneva, or Edinburgh*) yet Men sit by, like *Idle Spectators,* and still give money toward their own Tragedy. And why does he blame them for *Sitting by?* And like *Idle SPECTATORS?* unless he would have them enter into Tumult, and Action. A very fair Encouragement to make Men bestir themselves, and without more Ceremony, lay violent Hands upon the Publick. Good God! That ever such a Creature as This should propound to himself by the Dash of a Pen, to move the Foundations of the English Government.

From the *Parliament*, he descends to the *Judges.* *Alas!* (says he) *the Wisdom*

and Probity of the Law went off, for the most Part, with Good Sir Matthew Hales, and Justice is made a meer Property. And then he raves upon The Constant Irregularities, and Injustice from Term to Term, of those that administer the Judicature betwixt his Majesty, and his People (p. 154.) This Poysonous Arrow (meaning the Choice of the Judges) strikes to the very Heart of Government, and could come from no Quiver, but that of the Conspirators. What French Counsel, what Standing Forces, what Parliamentary Bribes, what National Oaths, and all the other Machinations of Wicked Men have not yet been able to effect, may be more compendiously Acted by Twelve Judges in Scarlet (p. 66.) And is not this directly 41 again? When no Judges would serve the Turn, but those that betray'd the People to Slavery, and His Sacred Majesty to the Scaffold? He has another Fling at the Sheriffs. If any Worthy Person (says he, p. 80.) chance to carry the Election, some Mercenary or Corrupt Sheriff makes a double Return; and so the Cause is handed to the Committee of Elections, &c. And truly he does not give either the King, or the Monarchy of
England

England, much better Quarter than he allows the rest; as you shall see by and by: So that nothing less than the *Thorough Reformation* of 41 will do the Work of 77. And the whole Frame of the Government must be unhing'd, to gratify the Caprice of a Pragmatical *Mal-content*.

The *Passion*, and *Malice* of the Libeller is so evident, that he does half confess it himself, by an *Anticipation* of the *Charge*. *The Relator*, (says he, pag. 155.) foresees that he shall on both hands be blam'd for pursuing this Method. Some on the One side will expect that the very Persons should have been Nam'd: whereas he only gives Evidence to the Fact, and leaves the Malefactors to those that have the Power of Enquiry. If he can but acquit himself on the Other hand for *Writing the Libel*, as well as on This for *not Naming the Persons*, he will do well enough. For first; It is not his Business to *Prove*, but to *Defame*. Secondly, The *Naming* of *Particulars* would have restrain'd the Calumny: whereas his work is to wound *All the Kings Ministers* that Faithfully adhere to their Master in the *Generality* of the *Scandal*. Thirdly; He

judges it safer, and more expedient to amuse the Multitude with *Jealousies* that cannot be *Disprov'd*, than point-blank to fasten upon *Particulars* an Accusation that cannot be *Prov'd*. What does he mean by saying that *he gives Evidence to the Fact*? It is the first *Libel* certainly that ever was given in *Evidence*. But where's the *Relator* himself all this while, upon whose bare word, Parliaments are to be Dissolv'd; Ministers of State Arraign'd; Judges Displac'd; and the whole Government new Modell'd? What if he should appear, and be found at last to have been one of *Oliver's Cabal*? Would any Man desire a more Competent Witness for *Charles the Second*, than the Murtherer of *Charles the First*? But he has been so us'd to call the King himself *Traytor*, that he may be allow'd to call his *Friends Conspirators*.

On the other hand (says he, pag. 155.) *some will represent this Discourse* (as they do all Books that tend to detect their Conspiracy against his Majesty, and Kingdom) as if It too were written against the Government. For now of late, as soon as any Man

is gotten into Publick Employment by ill Acts, and by worse continues it; he, if it please the Fates, is thenceforward the Government, and by being Criminal, pretends to be Sacred. This is only crying Whore first, to call those People Conspirators, who are likely to censure him for a Libeller: which with his Learned Leave, is but a Course Figure neither; and runs much better in the Common Billingsgate of You are a Knave your self to say that I'm one. Which in few words is all that's in't. For he does not offer so much as one Syllable in his Justification, but with another Lash or two at the King's Ministers, winds up his Period. Now of late, says he, (he means I suppose, since Oliver went out of Play) as soon as any Man is gotten into Publick Employment by ill Acts, &c. He should do well to consider who Governs, before he says That Villany is the ready way to Preferment; He, if it please the Fates, is thenceforward the Government, and by being Criminal, pretends to be Sacred. I answer, That in the Case of a Publick, and Legal Accusation, the Minister is not the Government; for the Charge terminates in,

and operates no further than his Person; but in the Affront of a Nameless, and Indefinite Libel, the King himself is wounded in a General Reflection upon his Ministers; for it is his Choice, and Commission, not the Officers Misdemeanour, that is there in Question: Nor does he pretend to be *Sacred* because he is *Criminal*; but the *Libeller* (who still writes after the *Remonstrance*) makes every thing *Criminal* that is *Sacred*, and gives the Construction of *Rebellion* to *Loyalty*, and of *Loyalty* to *Rebellion*.

But if there be not Mischief in the very Project of this Libel, there's nothing at all in't; for I cannot frame to my self the least Colour, or Possibility of any other End. He says, *It was his Design indeed to give Information, but not to turn Informer.* That is to say, He would set the People together by the Ears, and no body should know who did it. Now see the *End* he propounds. *That those* (says the Relator) *to whom he has only a Publick Enmity, no Private Animosity, might have the Priviledge of States-men to Repent at the last hour, and by one single Action to expiate*
all

all their former misdemeanours. Which is e'en as Civil a way as a body would wish, of Recommending a Publick Minister to his last Prayer. It remains now to speak a word to the *Timing* of his Enterprize, which, in a wicked Sence, is in Truth the Glory of it.

I shall not need to speculate upon the Power, and Designs of *France*, the deplorable State of *Flanders*, or the Consequences that must inevitably reflect upon *England* in the Loss of the *Spanish* *Neitherlands*: the matter being agreed upon at all hands, that an Union of Affections, Counsels, and Interests, was never more necessary to this Nation than at this Instant it is; and that *Delay* is *Death* to us. This being given for granted, it is likewise as certain, that nothing under Heaven, but the Credit of this Sitting Parliament, and the Blessing of a Fair Understanding betwixt his Majesty, and his Two Houses can preserve this Kingdom, (Morally speaking) from Irreparable Ruine. And yet this is the Critical Juncture that the Libeller has made choice of, for the blasting both of the Government, and the

Administration of it; for the violent Dissolution even of this most necessary Parliament; for the sowing of Jealousies, and alienating the Peoples Hearts from their Duty to their Sovereign. Let the World now judge betwixt the *Libeller*, and the pretended *Conspiratours*; who are more probably the *Pensioners of France*; those that are only *Calumniated* in the Dark, and without any *Proof*, or the least *Colour* of it, or the *Calumniatours themselves*, (I mean, the *Libeller* and his Adherents) who are doing all that is possible toward the Facilitating of the Work of *France*, and the Putting of *England* out of Condition to defend it self. What is it, I beseech you, that can now support us in this Exigent, but the Wisdom, and Reputation of a Parliament? which they are at this very Instant, labouring to defame and dissolve: Distracting and Dividing the Nation, at a Time when our best Union is little enough to preserve us; and obstructing those Parliamentary supplies, without which we must unavoidably perish: For it is to this Session, that the *Libeller* directs the Mock of Still giving Money toward
their

their own Tragedy. But sure we are not so mad yet, as to take the *Subverters* of our *Church and State*, for the *Advocates* of our *Religion and Freedom*. I would know in the next place, What any Man can say to excuse his *Growth of Popery*, from being a *Daring*, and a *Spightful Libel* against the King, and his *Government*. And I shall begin with the Liberties he takes with his Majesty, sometime in direct Terms, and otherwhile under the Blind of the *Conspiratours*.

Speaking of the Shutting up of the *Exchequer* (pag. 31.) *The Crown* (says he) made *Prize of the Subject*, and broke all *Faith, and Contract at Home*, in order to the breaking of them *Abroad with more Advantage*. The *Copy* has in This Point outdone the *Original*; for the *Remonstrants* were in *Arms*, before they presum'd to word it at this Audacious height. Take it in the Insolent Representation of the Fact; the Malicious Construction and Presumption of the Intent; and to Both these, add the Sordid Manner of Reflecting upon an Extraordinary thing done

upon an Extraordinary Occasion, and wherein the Subject has since receiv'd so Ample, and Generous Satisfaction; the Clamour is so foul, as if an *Ægyptian Plague* were broken in upon us, and the *Frogs of Geneva* crept into the King's Chambers. And 'tis much at the same Rate that he treats the King about his *Declaration of Indulgence*, (pag. 33.) *Hereby* (says he,) *all the Penal Laws against Papists, for which former Parliaments had given so many Supplies, and against Non-conformists, for which this Parliament had pay'd more largely, were at one Instant suspended, in order to defraud the Nation of all that Religion, which they had so dearly purchased, &c.* Observe here how ungratefully he charges the Design of this Declaration to be *The defrauding the Nation of their Religion*; which, on the contrary, was a Manifest Concession, only to gratifie the restless Importunities of his own Gang. And see what Sport he makes, but five or six Lines further, with the very Reason of that Law which he takes here so hainously to be suspended. *It appears* (says he) *at the first Sight, that Men ought to enjoy the same*
Pro-

Propriety, and Protection in their Consciences, which they have in their Lives, Liberties, and Estates: But that to take away these in Penalty for the other, is meerly a more Legal, and Gentile way of Padding upon the Road of Heaven; and that it is only for want of Mony, and for want of Religion, that Men take these desperate Courses. Now, by his Favour, there is a great Disparity betwixt a Pretence to *Propriety, and Protection in Consciences*, and a Pretence to them, in *Lives, Liberties, and Estates*; for the *Latter* are lyable to *Violence*, and may be *taken away*, but the *Other* cannot. And now he talks of *Padding* upon this *Road*; the *Remonstrants* (as I remember) were very good at it, that *drove away from their Churches*, 85 *Ministers*, of 97, *within the Walls of London*. We'll agree in the Matter with him, That *want of Mony, and want of Religion* will put Men upon *Desperate Courses*; for my *Charity* perswades me, *he would never have written these Libels else*. He is a little positive, methinks, in *Averring* that a *Great Lord* lost his *Place* for *defending the Protestant Religion*, (pag. 44.) But he has forgotten the

Statute of his own *Citing* (pag. 15.) that makes it *Incapacity*, for saying That the *King* is a *Papist*, or an *Introducer of Popery*, and that it was the *King* himself that remov'd his Lordship. And what do you think of his *Irony*, (pag. 43.) where he says, that *The Parliament*, by the *Conspiratours* good Leave, was admitted to sit again at the day appointed. He tells us of another Affair too, pag. 51; which being transmitted to his Majesty, was easily chang'd into a Court Intrigue; And (pag. 63.) That the *Conspiratours* might so represent things to his Majesty, as to incense him against the *Parliament*, and distrusting all *Parliamentary Advice*, to take Counsel from Themselves; from France, and from Necessity.

In this Disloyal and Irreverent Licence, he drops you a word or two now and then, before he is aware, against the *King himself*; and other whiles, Discharges his Malice to the *Government*, upon the Heads of *Publick Ministers*. The Subject Matter of his Complaint is a Tendency of Counsels, and Actions towards *Tyranny*, and *Popery*. But the *King* (says he, pag. 4.) can do no wrong; and so goes on, nor can

he receive wrong. What is this, but a Justification of all the Violences that were acted upon the late *King*; even to the very Murther of him; under that Mortal, and Treasonous Distinction betwixt his *AUTHORITY*, and his *PERSON*? And an Allowance, that the same Course may be taken with his Royal Successours? *The King can receive no wrong*; (he says) What does he mean by this? Is not his Majesties Breath in his Nostrials? Is he not Flesh and Bloud? Is not his Body lyable to Wounds, Distempers, Emprisonment, and Death? He'll tell you, *Yes*; but *This* is not the *KING*, but the *MAN*, the *PERSON*: But the *KING*, all this while, that is to say, the *Authority*, is Sacred, and Invulnerable. /

Now for Peace, and Brevity sake, let us suppose that this Charge of a *Popish*, and *Arbitrary Design*, does neither Intend nor Reflect any Imputation upon his Majesty; (his Religion, and his Tenderness of Nature being Unquestionable) It is yet a *worse Libel Another way*. Worse (I say) both as to the *Drift*, and to the *Scandal* of it, by how much *Contempt* is more dan-

gerous to a Prince, than *Hatred*: For he employes his Utmost Skill to represent his Majesty only *Passive* in all his *Administrations*, and so to lessen the Indubitable Fame of his Royal Prudence, and Courage among his People.

• You see, *Sir*, the Freedom he takes with the *King*, and his *Ministers*; the next Point will be to enquire how he stands affected to the *Government* it self. *The Subjects* (says he, pag.3.) *retain their Proportion in the Legislature*. In which saying, he makes them *Partners of the Sovereignty*, and turns the *Monarchy of England* into a *Tripartite and Coordinate Government*; which is as well *Destructive of Parliaments*, on the One hand, as of *Royalty*, on the Other. Upon the Admittance of this *Coordination*, any *Two* of the *Three* may destroy the *Third*: the *Two Houses* may destroy the *King*, and the *King*, with *Either* of the *Houses*, may destroy the *Other*. Which, if it be so, what Prince that is Imperial in the *Intervalls*, would ever hazard the Dethroning of himself by a *Session*? *The Making of Laws is a Peculiar, and Incommunicable Priviledge of the*

Supreme Power, and the Office of the *Two Houses* in this Case is only *Consultive*, or *Preparatory*; but the Character of *Power* rests in the Final *Sanction*, which is in the *King*: And Effectually, the Passing of a *Bill*, is but the granting of a *Request*: The *Two Houses* make the *Bill*, 'tis true, but the *King* makes the *Law*; and 'tis the *Stamp*, not the *Matter*, that makes it *Current*: Nor does the *Subject* any otherwise make *Laws*, than the *Petitioner* makes *Orders of Council*.

It is a Suspicious, and Ill-looking Passage that he has, *Pag. 14*. As to *Matter of Government*, says he; *If to murder the King, be (as certainly it is) a Fact so horrid*, (he does not say how horrid) *how much more Hainous is it to Assassinate the Kingdom?* Here is First involv'd in this Clause, the *Deposing Position* of 41, that the *King* is *Singulis major, Universis minor*: For it is clear that the *Comparison* was only made to draw on the *Preference*, and to possess the *People* that they have a greater Prize at Stake in the hazard of their *Religion*, than in the *Tye* of their *Civil Obedience*. (the very Translation still of 41.) And for
their

their further Encouragement, he tells them (pag. 4.) that *We have the same Right (modestly understood) in our Propriety, that the Prince hath in his Regality*: which carries with it an Innuendo, that the King may as well Forfeit his Crown, as the Subject his Free-hold. It cannot be imagin'd that all these Leading and Desperate Hints should fall from a Man of Brains and Sense by Chance; and you see the whole Tract takes the same Biass.

No King of England (says he, pag. 58.) had ever so great a Treasure of his Peoples Affections, except what those Ill men have (as they have done all the rest) consum'd; whom, but out of an Excess of Love to his Person, the Kingdom would never (for it never did formerly) so long have suffer'd. Here's still the Crocodile of 41; nothing but Love and Reverence to his late Majesty too, till his Head was off. But let us Reason the Matter in a word. These Ill men have no Names, it seems; so that any Man that's near the King, is by this Libeller set up for a Mark to the Outrage of the People. And then he says, *The Kingdom would never have suffer'd them.* Who are they, I

pray, that he calls the *Kingdom*, but the *Rabble* still of 41; the *Execrable Instruments* of *That Rebellion*, and the *Hopes* of *Another*? But if the *Kingdom* would not suffer it, what would he have them do to help themselves? The Law is open, in Case of any Legal Impeachment, and 'tis too Early Days yet for a Tumult.

In his Descant upon the, Test he is wonderfully free of his Figures. *Never* (says he, pag. 59.) *was so much sence contain'd in so few words; no Conveyancer could ever in more Compendious, or Binding Terms have drawn a Dissettlement of the whole Birth-right of England.* This Test has made a great Noise, and it will be worth the while to examine what is said against it. The Form of it is as follows.

I A. B. do declare that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that Trayterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are Commission'd by him in Pursuance of such Commission. And I do swear that I will not at any time Endeavour the

Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State. So help me God.

He says, pag. 57, *That it was thrown out of the House in the Plague-year at Oxford, for fear of a general Infection of the Vitals of this Kingdom; whereas in truth, it was brought into the House as an Antidote against that Poyson which had seiz'd the Vitals of this Kingdom already; and amounts to no more than the Unswearing of That on the Behalf of the Government, which had been formerly sworn for the Destruction of it. The Author of A Letter from a Person of Quality, &c. calls it, p. 1. A STATE-MASTER-PIECE, and design'd to these Ends. First, To make a Distinct Party, from the rest of the Nation, of the High Episcopal Man, and the Old Cavalier. Now I took it rather to be a Design of Uniting All Parties, under one Common Bond of Duty, and Obedience to the Government: And where That could not be obtain'd, to distinguish who were for the Government, and who against it; for the Late King was murder'd upon this very Distinction betwixt his*

Authority and his Person. Nor is there any Government upon the Face of the Earth without some Obligation upon the Subject, Equivalent to This Test.

Next, says he, they design to have the Government of the Church sworn to as Unalterable, and so Tacitely own'd to be of Divine Right. This, under favour, is a Fallacy. The Test does not concern it self whether the Government be Changeable, or not, but only provides that the State may be serv'd with Magistrates and Officers, that stand well Affected to the Establishment. Those that do so will never scruple the Oath; and for those that do not, it is the very Intent of it to discriminate, and to exclude them: And to encounter the Covenant, by Virtue of which they dissolv'd the Late Government, with an Oath never to endeavour any further Alteration in This. And certainly, a Man may better swear the Maintaining of a Government According to the Law, than the Alteration of it Against Law.

Thirdly, says the Author of the Letter, In Requitral to the Crown, they declare the Government Absolute, and Arbitrary, and
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allow

allow Monarchy, as well as Episcopacy, to be Jure Divino, and not to be bounded, or limited by Humane Laws.

How *This Test* does either Declare, or Pretend the Government to be *Absolute*, and *Arbitrary*, I cannot imagine: But on the Contrary, every Man is ty'd by it from Endeavouring to make it so, if it be not so already, in *Swearing* that *he will not at any time endeavour the Alteration of it.* And then in his Explication of the meaning of *Church*, and *State* in the *Test*, by *Monarchy*, and *Episcopacy* in his *Reflection* upon it, he has done us a greater Kindness than he was aware of; for he has wholly Disappointed the Spight, and the Intent of his next Clause. And (as he goes on) to secure all this, they resolve to take away the Power, and Opportunity of Parliaments, to alter any thing in *Church* or *State*, only leave them as an Instrument to raise Money, and to pass such Laws, as the Court, and Church shall have a mind to: The Attempt of any other, how Necessary soever, must be no less a Crime than Perjury.

See now whether or no this be fair dealing. It is, by his own Confession, the

Form

Form of Monarchy, and the Order of Episcopacy, the Government it self, and not the Administration of it, that is here in Question. He would have it believ'd, That by this Test, Parliaments are barr'd upon Pain of Perjury from Attempting any Alteration IN Church or State: whereas they are left at Liberty to debate what Alterations they please in the Parts of the Government provided they do not strike at the Root of the Government it self. And the Deliberation and Result of the whole Matter, is no more than This. Many of the People (and All the Principles) are yet Living, that destroy'd the King, and the Bishops in the last Rebellion; Let us have a Care of the same Hands again, and trust none of them in the Government but under an Oath, not to endeavour the Alteration of it. That is to say, of the Monarchy into a Republique, or of Episcopacy into Presbytery; as they did before. And this was the Clear Scope of the Test.

The Author of the Growth of Popery, discouraging upon this Subject; There is nothing (says he, p. 57.) more Portentous,

and of worse Omen, than when such an Oath hangs over a Nation like a New Comet, foreboding the Alteration of Religion or Government.

NO A Word first to the Oath, which, for want of an Epithet to express the heinousness of it; the Libeller so Emphatically calls *SUCH* an Oath. It is an Oath founded upon the same Consideration with the Oath of Allegiance, and directed to the same End; and every jot as Necessary under This King, as That was under his Grand-Father. The Jesuits had invited the Spaniard to invade England: The Jesuited Protestants in the late Rebellion, did, in like manner, apply themselves to the French. The former laid a Plot for the Blowing up of the Parliament: The other executed the Plot of Destroying Parliaments, Changing the Government, and murdering the King. The People were misled in the One Case, upon the Jesuitical Principle, that a Prince being Excommunicate by the Pope, the Subject is discharged of his Duty to him; and they were seduc'd in the Other, by a Persuasion that the Sacred Character

of a *King* rests in the *Authority*, and is separable from the *Person*; which *Authority* they lodg'd in the *Two Houses*, and so did their *Business*. This Practice of the *Jesuites* occasion'd the *Oath* of *Allegiance* in the Statute 3^o *Jacobi*, entitl'd *An Act for the Discovering, and Repressing of Popish Recusants*. In which *Oath*, you have this Clause. *And I do further swear that I do from my Heart detest and abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this damnable Doctrine, and Position, That Princes which be Excommunicated, or Deprived by the Pope, may be Deposed, or Murder'd by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever.* Here was an *Act* for the *Discovering and Repressing of Popish Recusants*, with an *Oath*, under a *Penalty*, and a *Declaration* against, and an *Abhorrence* of that *Impious Position*, whereupon the *Treasons* of those *Times* were founded: And why not a *Provision* as well against those *People* that with *premeditated Malice*, as well as *Ambition*, over-turn'd the *Late Government*; and against That *Principle*, of *Dividing* his *Majesties Authority* from his *Person*, which was the *Countenance* and *Support* of the *late Rebellion*?

Take

Take it in short, and the *Test* is but a Supplement to the *Oath of Allegiance*. The *Scottish* Faction Impos'd upon the People that they might be true to the *King*, though they Levy'd Arms against his *Person*: and the end of this Oath is only to expound *That Position* to be *Treasonous*, and to Secure the Government for the Future against Men of such Principles: According to Equity and Conscience, and to the Common Practice, and according to the Prudence of all well Order'd States.

Is this the Oath now that he calls *SUCH an Oath*? The Oath, *than which there is nothing more* Portentous, *and of worse Omen to a Nation*? He has forgotten the *Fore-boding*, and *Portentous Omens of Forty One*, and the Dire Events of those Presages. What do you think of a deliberate Design, to spoil the *Crown*, the *Church*, and the *Subject*: And all this in the Name of *God*, for the Honour of the *King*, and the Good of the *People*? And then the Entitling of Providence to all the Advantages that the Faction got by the Ruine of *Three Kingdoms*? Here's the unrepented Guilt

Guilt of *Sacrilege, Treason, and Bloud*, to the Highest Degree, and so Transcendent an *Ingratitude*, that some of the very Men that were Pardon'd for One Rebellion, are now the Advocates for Another. If these Practices should be suffer'd, there would be no need to consult the Stars for a Prognostick of Change of Government.

The *Oaths* (says he, pag. 58.) in our Late King's time taught the Phanaticks, because they could not swear, yet to Covenant. His Memory fails him, I perceive, for the Covenant was a Foot in Scotland before any *Oaths* complain'd of here; by the Token that the Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638, came to this Resolution upon the Point. *It is lawful for Subjects to Covenant and Combine, without the King, and enter into a Bond of mutual Defence against him.* Take notice next that the *Oath* complain'd of, was the *Oath ex Officio*, which Oath was Abolish'd, before any *Covenanting* in England: And he is so much out again, in saying that the Phanaticks *Covenanted, &c. because they could not swear*, that in Truth they *Covenanted* because they

car'd not what they swore. Witness their Covenants, Negative Oaths, and Oath of Abjuration, in Opposition to their Oaths of Allegiance, and Canonical Obedience: There was no Compounding, no Living in their Quarters, without Swearing. There was an Oath, given at a Communion at Fife, obliging People not to take the King's Covenant; And it was one Condition upon the Treaty at the Isle of Wight, that his Majesty himself should give Assurance by Solemn Oath under his Hand, and Seal, for settling Religion according to the Covenant: So that they made no Conscience (you see) either of Swearing, or For-swearing; either of taking Oaths Themselves, or of Forcing them upon Others for the Advancement of their Design.

He takes Exception (pag. 59.) to the Two Declaratory Points of the Test. First, That it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King. And he reasons the Matter in these Words: It were difficult to instance a Law, either in This, or Other Country, but that a Private Man, if any King in Christendom Assault him, may, having Retreated to the
Wall.

Wall, stand upon his Guard. That is to say, A Private Man may kill his Prince in his own Defence. For he puts This Case in Opposition to the Declaration; Only translating the *Taking up of Arms against the King*, into a Man's *Standing upon his Guard*. All that's Honest in't is This, That he refuses to declare That to be *Unlawful*, which he holds to be *Lawful*. /

His Second Scruple is *The Abhorrence of that Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person; or against those that are Commissioned by him, in pursuance of such Commission.* Here (says he) is neither *Tenour*, or *Rule* of any such Commission *specify'd*, nor the *Qualification of those which shall be Armed with such Commissions, expressed, or Limited.*

The Author of this Frivolous Shift, knows very well, that the *Rules*, and *Measures of Commissions* vary according to the *Circumstances of Time, Place, Fact, Person*; that the *Qualification of the Commissioner* does not at all operate upon the *Authority of the Commission*: and that if the *Bill* were drawn out to the length of the *Book of Martyrs*, there would not yet be room

enough to obviate all Cavills, and Objections. But in the next Page, he speaks his Mind a little plainer.

As to the Commission, (says he) if it be to take away a Man's Estate, or his Life, by Force, yet it is the King's Commission: Or if the Person Commissionate be under never so many Disabilities by Acts of Parliament; yet his taking this Oath, removes all those Incapacities, or his Commission makes it not disputable.

This Seditious Hint, (for I cannot call it an Argument) lyes open so many ways, that I am only at a Loss where to begin with it. First, Let the *Commission*, and *Commissioner* be what they will, *no Man is to be a Judge in his own Cause*; but the *Law* must be the *Judge* both of the *Legality* of the *One*, and the *Capacity* of the *Other*. Secondly, If upon this Ground *an Injur'd Person* may take Arms, in *One* Case; so may a *Criminal*, upon the bare Pretence of it in *any Other*: For 'tis but saying that the *Commission* is *Unwarrantable*, or that *the Officer is a Rascal*, and there's his Justification. Thirdly, Suppose a *Double Abuse* in Manner, as is here suggested:

ed; That *Abuse* does not yet void the *Authority*, to which the Law on the *One* side requires *Obedience*, or at least *Submission*; and there is no Law, on the *Other* side, that allows *Resistance*. Fourthly, The End and Prospect of all Laws is Publick Convenience, and there was never any Law invented, so Profitable to a *Community*, but it was in some Respect or other, to the Detriment of some *Particulars*: So that the very Admittance of his Suppositions, does not at all affect the Reason of the *Test*, if the *Benefit* be *General* on the *One* hand, and the *Mischief* only *Particular* on the *Other*. How many Men are sworn out of their Lives, and Fortunes by *False Witnesses*? Shall we therefore quarrel the Method of Proceeding *Secundum Allegata, & Probata*? A Man is Arrested upon a Fobb'd Action, for a sum of Mony, knowing First, that he owes not a Penny; Secondly, that the Consequence of it will be his Ruine; Thirdly, that the Action is meerly Malicious; And Fourthly, (to make it strong enough) that the Officer that serves the Writ is Confederate with his Adversary, and that they have Both

complotted his Destruction: All this will not yet Authorize a Resistance, but if an Officer that has the *King's Writ*, or any other Lawful Warrant, though *Erroneous*, shall be slain in the Execution of it, This is *MURDER*. A word now as to the Occasion of it.

The People of 41, when they had forced his Majesty from his Palace, by Assaults and Armed Tumults, Published this Doctrine to the Nation, That though his Person was gone, his Authority resided in the *Two Houses*: under which Colour they imposed *Ordinances* upon the People, for *Laws*, and by Degrees proceeded to an Exercise of all the Acts of *Sovereignty*; making War against the Person of the King, and those that were Commission'd by him, under the Pretence afore-said; as *Rebellious*, *Traitors*, and *Conspirators*. Now to prevent the same Mischief again, from the same Principles, it was thought fit to propose this Declaration of Abhorrence. The Objections against it are, That the King may grant a Commission to take away a Man's Life, or Estate, and Employ any Man at a venture to execute it: which

is First, The Supposal of an *Unjust*, and *Tyrannical Combination*: Secondly, A Case so Rare, that it would be a hard matter to produce a *President* for it, without a Reference to a Tryal at Law: And Thirdly, What would be the Fruit of such a *Resistance*, but the Turning of an *Oppression* on the *One* side, into a *Rebellion* on the other, and the *Forfeiting* of that *Life*, and *Liberty* both *to* *Man*, which was otherwise invaded *Contrary* to the *Law*. For 'tis a Thousand to one that the Power that *usurps* the *Government* should find *Assistance* to *Prohibit* it, or *Set* at the *Resistance* and *Pleaded* for in this Case, is *End*, of a very remote Supposition. Secondly, of dangerous Consequences to the *Constitution*. And Thirdly, of no *Avantage* to him that *resists* (may the *fractious*) under these Circumstances, our *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Estates* be in the *King's* *Mercy*, for that which may be *One* *Man's* *Case*, may be *Any* *Man's* *and* so because of this Possibility, as *W* could no Particulars, we judge it Reasonable, that every Particular *Man* should be Allowed to *Defend* himself. See now the *Incon-*

venience, which, upon the Allowance of this Liberty in Favour of Particulars, will redound to the Publick.

An Honest Man is charg'd with Treason in the King's Name, and by his Majesties Order to be taken into Custody, and by an Officer too, under what *Disabilities* you please. Here's the whole Case. *An Innocent Person*; *Life, Liberty, and Estate* at stake, and an *Unqualify'd Commissioner*. If *One Man* may *Resist*, because he is *Innocent*, *Another* upon the same Pretence may *Resist* too, although he be *Guilty*. For no Man under a Charge, is either *Guilty*, or *Innocent* in the Eye of the Law, till he be Legally, either *Convicted*, or *Acquitted*. So that the *Innocent*, and the *Guilty*, are to be try'd indifferently by the *same Law*, and so are the Pretended *Errours* either in the *Commission*, or *Commissioner*. Take matters once out of the Channel of *Trial* by our *Peers*, There's an end of *Magna Charta*; and the Government it self is become *Passive*, and *Precarious*. Will you have the true Reason now, why this *Abhorrence* goes so much against the hair with some People? The *Position* is to be *Cheerish'd*, and kept in

No Man can be so blind, as not to discern by the correspondent Motions of the *Consistorians* in *Scotland*, and the *Scottish English*, that they Act already by *Concert*; and it is as plain by this Bold and Adventurous way of Libels all on the foddain, that they depend upon *France* for a *Second*: Which is no more than was done in the Late Rebellion, by the same Faction, as appear'd by a Letter of the Lord *Lowdens* to the *French King*, for his Protection and Assistance, for which he was committed to the *Tower*; and it was also confirm'd by the Fourth Article against the Five Members, Accusing them to have *Trayterously invited and encourag'd a Forreign Power to invade his Majesties Kingdom of England*. *Husband's Collections*, p. 35. These are the *French Pensioners*, and the *Betrayers* of our *Religion* and *Freedom*, under *Oaths*, and *Covenants* to *Preserve* them. Were not our *Divines* Pillag'd, Sequestred, Imprison'd, either for praying for his Majesty, or for Refusing to Abjure him? How many Reverend *Divines* were poyson'd in *Peter-House*? I could give you the History of their *Spiriting* away several *Persons* of Honour

Honour for Slaves; their Sale of three, or four score Gentlemen to the Barbadoes. Their Sequestrations, Decimations, Exclusion from all Offices, Plunders, Banishments, Confinements, Prohibition of Correspondence with the King, upon Pain of Death: The Juggles of the Irish Adventures; Money, and Plate upon the Propositions; Confiscated Estates; Twentieth Parts, Weekly Assessments, and a Hundred other Pecuniary, and Arbitrary Stratagems, till they finish'd the Ruine of the Nation, in the Dissolution of the Government, and in the Bloud of their Sovereign. It is not less certain that This is in Sum the Design of their Second Reformation, than that it was the Effect of their Former: and they are Fools that take Men of these Practices to be of any Religion. To understand these People aright, a Man must read them, like the Original Tongues, Backward. They are never so deadly, and dangerous Enemies to the Government, as when they profess the dearest Affection to it; and I do not know but that the Author of the Growth of Popery may be the greatest Friend in the World to the Church of Rome, when he

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Professes himself the Bitterest Adversary. I pray, bestow a Second Thought upon his *Declamation* against Popery (with which I shall Conclude) and tell me next time I see you, whether he has not taken more Pains to *Shew his Skill*, than Care to *Deliver his Opinion*.

Adieu.

Growth of Popery, pag. 5.

Popery is such a thing as cannot, but for want of a word to express it, be call'd a Religion: nor is it to be mention'd with that Civility which is otherwise Decent to be us'd, in speaking of the differences of Humane Opinion about Divine Matters. Were it either Open Judaisme, or Plain Turkery, or Honest Paganisme, there is yet a certain Bona Fides in the most Extravagant Belief; and the Sincerity of an Erroneous Profession may render it more Pardonable: But This is a Compound of all the Three, an Extract of whatsoever is most Ridiculous, and Impious in them, incorporated with more Peculiar Absurdities of its Own, in which those were Deficient; and all this Deliberately contriv'd, knowingly carry'd on, by the bold Imposture of Priests, under the Name of Christianity. The Wisdom of this Fifth Religion, this Last, and Insolentest Attempt upon the Credulity of Mankind, seems to me (tho' not Ignorant otherwise

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of the Times, Degrees, and Methods of its Progress,) principally to have consisted in their owning the Scriptures to be the Word of God, and the Rule of Faith, and Manners; but in Prohibiting, at the same time, their Common Use, or the Reading of them in Publique Churches, but in a Latine Translation, to the Vulgar: there being no better, or more Rational way to Frustrate the very Design of the Great Institutour of Christianity, who first planted it, by the Extraordinary Gift of Tongues, than to forbid the Use even of the Ordinary Languages. For having thus a Book which is Universally avow'd to be of Divine Authority, but sequestering it only into such hands as were entrusted in the Cheat; they had the Opportunity to Vitiate, Suppress, or Enterpret to their own Profit these Records, by which the Poor People hold their Salvation. And this Necessary Point being once gain'd, there was thence forward nothing so Monstrous to Reason, so Abhorring from Morality, or so Contrary to Scripture, which they might not in Prudence Adventure on. The Idolatry (for Alas it is neither better, nor worse) of Adoring, and Praying to Saints, and Angels; of Worshipping Pictures, Images, and Reliques, Incredible Miracles, and pable Fables to promote That Veneration. The whole Liturgy, and Worship of the Blessed Virgin; The Saying of Pater Nosters, and Creeds, to the honour of Saints; and of Ave Maryes too, not to her Honour, but of others. The Publique Service which they can spare to God among so many Competitours in an Unknown Tongue, and Entangled with such Vestments, Consecrations, Exorcisms, Whisperings
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Sprinklings, Censings, and Phantastical Rites, Gesticulations, and Removals, so Unbecoming a Christian Office, that it represents rather the Pranks, and Ceremonies of Juglers, and Conjurers: The Refusal of the Cup to the Laity; The Necessity of the Priests Intention to make any of their Sacraments Effectual; Debarring their Clergy from Marriage; Interdicting of Meats; Auricular Confession, and Absolution, as with them practised: Penances, Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Prayer for the Dead. But above all their other Devices, their Transubstantial Solecisme, whereby that glorify'd Body, which at the same time they allow to be in Heaven, is sold again, and Crucify'd dayly upon all the Altars of their Communion. For God indeed may now and then do a Miracle, but a Romish Priest can, it seems, work in one moment a thousand Impossibilities. Thus by a new, and Anti-Scriptural Belief, compil'd of Terrours to the Phancy, Contradictions to sense, and Impositions on the Understanding, their Laity have turn'd Tenants for their Souls, and in Consequence Tributary for their Estates to a more than Omnipotent Priesthood.

I must indeed do them that right to avow, that out of an Equitable Consideration, and Recompence of so Faithful a Slavery, they have discharg'd the People from all other Services, and Dependance; Enfranchis'd them from all Duty to God, or Man; insomuch that their Severer, and more Learned Divines, their Governors of Conscience, have so well instructed them in all the Arts of Circumventing their Neighbour, and of Colluding with Heaven, that, were the Scholars as apt as their Teachers,

there would have been long since an end of all either True Piety, or Common Honesty; and nothing left among them but Authorized Hypocrisie, and Licentiousness; had not the Natural Worth of the Better sort, and the good Simplicity of the Meaner, in great measure preserv'd them. For nothing indeed but an Extraordinary Temper, and Ingenuity of Spirit, and That too assisted by a Diviner Influence, could possibly restrain those within any the Terms, or Laws, or Humanity, who at the same time own the Doctrine of their Casuists, or the Authority of the Pope, as it is by him claim'd, and exercis'd. He by his Indulgences delivers Souls out of the Pains of the other World; so that who would refuse to be Vicious Here, upon so good Security? He, by his Dispensations, Annuls Contracts betwixt man and man; Dissolves Othes between Princes, or betwixt Them, and their People; and gives Allowance in Cases which God, and Nature Prohibite. He, as Clerk of the Spiritual Market, hath set a Rate upon all Crimes: the more Flagitious they are, and Abominable, the better Commodities, and men pay only an higher Price, as for greater Rarities. So that it seems as if, the Command of God had been invented merely to Erect an Office for the Pope. The worse Christians men are, the better Customers; and This Rome does by the same Policy people its Church, as the Pagan Rome did its City, by opening a Sanctuary to all Malefactors. And why not, if his Power be indeed of such Virtue, and Extent, as is by him challeng'd? That he is the Ruler over Angels, Purgatory, and Hell; That His Tribunal, and Gods, are all One: That all
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that God, he can do, *Clave non Errante*; and what He does, is as God, and not as Man: That he is the Universal Head of the Church; the Sole Interpreter of Scripture, and Judge of Controversie: That he is above General Councils: That his Power is Absolute, and his Decrees Infallible: That he can change the very Nature of things; making what is Just to be Unjust, and what is Vice to be Virtue: That all Laws are in the Cabinet of his Breast: That he can Dispense with the New Testament, to the great Injury of the Devils: That he is Monarch of this World; and that he can dispose of Kingdoms, and Empires as he pleases. Which things being granted, that stile of Optimum, Maximum, & Supremum Numen in Terris, or that of Dominus Deus noster Papa, was no such extraordinary stroke of Courtship, as we reckon'd: but it was rather a great Clownishness in him that treated so mighty a Prince under the simple Title of Vice-Deus. The Exercise of his Dominion is in all Points suitable to this his Pretence. He Antiquates the Precepts of Christ, as things only of Good Advice, not Commanded: but makes it a Mortal Sin, even to Doubt of any Part of his own Religion; and demands, under pain of Damnation, the Subjection of all Christians to his Papal Authority: the denying of two things so Reasonable as Blind Obedience to This Power, and an Implicit Faith to his Doctrine, being the most Unpardonable Crime, under his Dispensation. He has indeed of late been somewhat more Retentive than formerly as to his Faculty of Disposing of Kingdoms, the thing not having succeeded well with him in
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Some Instances; but he lays the same Claim still; Continues the same Inclination; and, tho' velvet-Headed, hath the more Itch to be Pushing. And however in order to any Occasion he keeps himself in Breath Always, by Cursing one Prince or another upon every Maunday Thursday. Nor is there any, whether Prince, or Nation, that dissents from his Usurpations, but are mark'd out, under the Notion of Heretiques, to Ruine, and Destruction, whensoever he shall give the Signal. That word of Heresie misapplied, hath serv'd him, for so many Ages, to Justifie all the Executions, Assassinations, Wars, Massacres, and Devastations, whereby his Faith hath been Propagated; of which our times also have not wanted Examples, and more is to be Expected for the Future. For by howmuch any thing is more False, and Unreasonable, it requires more Cruelty to Establish it: and to Introduce that which is Absurd, there must be somewhat done that is Barbarous. But nothing of any Sect in Religion can be more recommended by all these Qualities, than the Papacy. The Pagans are Excusable by their Natural Darknes, without Revelation. The Jews are Tolerable who see not beyond the Old Testament. Mahomet was so Honest as to own what he would be at, that he himself was the greatest Prophet, and that His was a Religion of the Sword. So that these were all, as I may say, of another Allegiance; and if Enemies, yet not Traytours: But the Pope Avowing Christianity by Profession, doth, in Doctrine, and Practice, Renounce it; and presuming to be the only Catholique, does persecute those to the Death who dare Worship the Author

thour of their Religion, instead of his pretended Vice-Gerent.

And yet there is nothing more Evident, notwithstanding his most Notorious Forgeries, and Falsification of all Writers, than that the Pope was for several hundreds of years an Honest Bishop as other men are, and never so much as dream'd upon the seven Hills of that Universal Power, which he is now come to : Nay, he was the First that Oppos'd any such Pretension. But some of them at last, growing wiser, by foysting a Counterfeit Donation of Constantine, and wresting another Donation from our Saviour, advanc'd themselves in a Weak, Ignorant, and Credulous Age, to that Temporal, and Spiritual Principality, which they are now seiz'd of. Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam. Never was a Bishoprick and a Verse of Scripture so Improv'd by good Menagement. Thus, by Exercising, in Quality of Christs Vicar, the Publick Function under an Invisible Prince, the Pope, like the Maires of the Palace, hath set his Master aside, and deliver'd the Government over to a New Line of Papal Succession. But who can, unless wilfully, be Ignorant what wretched Doings, what Bribery, what Ambition there are ; How long the Church is without an Head upon every Vacancy, till, among the Crew of Bandyng Cardinals, the Holy Ghost hath declar'd for a Pope of the French, or Spanish Faction. It is a Succession like that of the Egyptian Ox (the Living Idol of that Country) who Dying, or being made away by the Priests, there was a Solemn, and General Mourning for want of a Deity ; until in their
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Conclave they had found out another Beast with the very same Marks as the Former ; whom then they themselves Ador'd, and with great Jubilee brought forth to the People to Worship. Nor was That Election a grosser Reproach to Humane Reason, than This is also to Christianity. Surely it is the greatest Miracle of the Romish Church that it should still Continue, and that in all this time the Gates of Heaven should not prevail against it.

It is almost Unconceivable how Princes can yet suffer a Power so pernicious, and Doctrine so Destructive to all Government : That so great a Part of the Land should be Alienated, and Condemn'd to (as they call it) Pious Uses. That such Millions of their People, as the Clergy, should, by remaining Unmarry'd, either Frustrate Humane Nature, if they live Chastly ; or, if otherwise, Adulterate it : That they should be priviledg'd from all Labour, all Publique Service, and Exempt from the Power of all Secular Jurisdiction : That they, being all bound, by strict Othes, and Vows of Obedience, to the Pope, should evacuate the Fealty due to the Sovereign : Nay, that not only the Clergy, but their whole People, if of the Romish Perswasion ; should be oblig'd to Rebel, at any time, upon the Popes Pleasure.

F I N I S.